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ABSTRACT

Ways in which institutional characteristics and student characteristics interact to produce distinctive learning environments and encourage a sense of identity in students are considered. Professional identity is defined as the process of acquiring the values, attitudes, and skills of the single chosen profession. The process takes place on both the graduate and undergraduate level. Outcomes include a high degree of goal consensus among institutional participants, the translation of this consensus into program goals and policies, the provision of one-to-one and small group interaction between faculty and students, and the provision of opportunities for the development of student subcultures. Also considered is the importance of the educational setting, faculty members as socializing agents, and the student peer group. One of the conclusions is that undergraduate education should be restructured to provide more opportunities for the socialization process to take hold. (Author/LBH)

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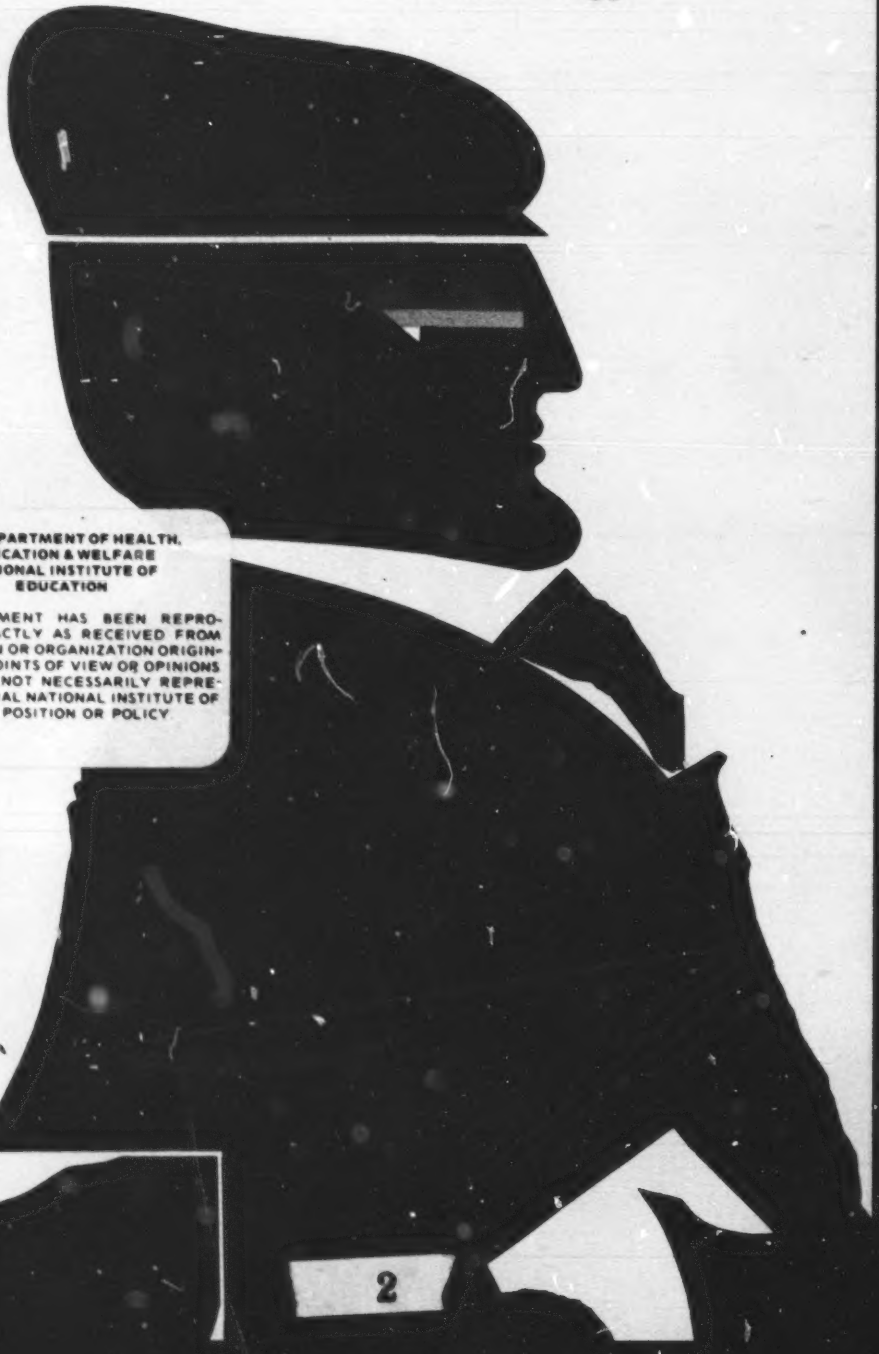
Ann Kieffer Bragg



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# The Socialization Process in Higher Education

**Ann Kieffer Bragg**

ERIC/Higher Education
Research Report No. 7
1976

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## Foreword

This report considers ways in which institutional characteristics and student characteristics interact to produce distinctive learning environments and encourage a sense of identity in students. Professional identity is defined as the process of acquiring the values, attitudes, and skills of the single chosen profession. The process takes place on both the graduate and undergraduate level. On the undergraduate level the process is not specifically occupation oriented; however, among institutions with the most impact on undergraduate socialization, the profile of outcomes is identical to that of graduate institutions. The outcomes include a high degree of goal consensus among institutional participants, the translation of this consensus into program goals and policies, the provision of one-to-one and small group interaction between faculty and students, and the provision of opportunities for the development of student subcultures. Also considered is the importance of the educational setting, faculty members as socializing agents, and the student peer group. One of the conclusions is that undergraduate education should be restructured to provide more opportunities for the socialization process to take hold. Implications for reform and suggestions for further research are given. Ann Kieffer Bragg is presently an administrative assistant in the Department of Political Science and a candidate for the D.Ed. degree at the Pennsylvania State University, where she was also a graduate research assistant at the Center for the Study of Higher Education.

Peter P. Muirhead, Director
ERIC/Higher Education

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## Overview

An understanding of the socialization process is vital to all persons involved in postsecondary education, for it is the socialization process that allows education to achieve its goals. Through the socialization process the individual acquires the knowledge and skills, the values and attitudes, and the habits and modes of thought of the society to which he belongs. Thus, the socialization process encompasses all learning—the affective as well as the cognitive.

Educators in the professions have been more aware of this process than others, and their research suggests four conditions essential to successful socialization. First, professional education programs are highly goal-oriented: both faculty and students understand the aims of education. Second, goals are consistently transmitted into the program's structure: opportunities for trying on new behaviors and values and feedback on performance are provided to the students. Third, role models in faculty members are easily identifiable, and identification with faculty is encouraged through opportunities for one-to-one and small-group interaction. Finally, the relative homogeneity of students leads to the formation of peer subcultures and a collegiality complementary to the value climate established by the faculty.

In undergraduate education, those institutions with the most impact on their students are also characterized by a high degree of goal consensus among institutional participants. They translate this consensus consistently into program goals and procedures, provide for one-to-one and small-group interaction between faculty and students, and provide opportunities for the development of student subcultures. If the development of graduates who are (1) intellectually curious and (2) value conscious is the goal of undergraduate education, then the most effective means of achieving this end is by a more complete understanding of the socialization process and a restructuring of undergraduate education to facilitate it.

Thus, the course seems clear. Undergraduate education needs to be restructured:

- by building within large institutions, smaller, more autonomous units that can develop salient missions.
- by capitalizing on what is unique about the institution to de-

velop a salient image rather than attempting to be all things to all people.

- by planning change in accord with the institution's educational goals.
- by providing opportunities for increased faculty-student interaction in tutorial and small-group academic settings.
- by utjlizing peer-group influence to enhance student life through mutual assistance programs.
- by providing detailed feedback on student progress in relation to the institution's goals.

These and similar reforms emphasize the socialization process in post-secondary education and enable education to fulfill its role in society.

## Introduction

Since Sputnik, a disproportionate emphasis in education has been on cognitive learning. In the last two decades the number of diverse courses offered in postsecondary educational institutions has proliferated until universities bear more resemblence to shopping centers than to the colonial colleges from which they developed. However, research has shown that the influence of education on the affective domain is as great as its influence on the cognitive. In fact, the influence on the affected behavior of the individual may be even longer lasting. The details of a novel's plot read for a literature class, or the issues involved in the presidential election of 1860 studied in a history or political science course may soon be forgotten. But an approach to knowledge, a curiosity about the world, and a sense of competence in tackling and solving problems, that were perhaps also learned in that same literature, history, or political science course, may remain with the individual and guide his actions for the rest of his life.

It is the socialization process that reunites these two domains—the affective and the cognitive—into one. The socialization process is the learning process through which the individual acquires the knowledge and skills, the values and attitudes, and the habits and modes of thought of the society to which he belongs. The components of the socialization process can be identified, and because they can be identified, the conditions maximizing both cognitive and affective development can be built into the educational system.

The conditions requisite to successful socialization are most in evidence in education for the professions. Law students do learn to think like lawyers and medical students do come to act like physicians. However, while the socialization process may be more obvious in professional and graduate-level academic education, the process also operates at the two- and four-year college level. First, although undergraduate education has been treated as a unitary phenomenon, it is not a single entity. Approximately 50 percent of the baccalaureate degrees awarded annually in the United States are professional (or quasi-professional) degrees awarded in business administration, education, engineering, agriculture, nursing, etc. (Anderson 1974, pp. 30-1). Second, in two-year community colleges many students pursue vocational curricula that share similarities with professional programs.

Finally, in traditional liberal arts colleges many of the baccalaureate degree recipients have completed preprofessional programs and plan immediately to enter law or medical school or other graduate-level academic and professional programs. Thus, much of undergraduate education is professional—or preprofessional—education complete with socialization toward the norms and values of a single profession or vocation.

On the other hand, the goals of general undergraduate education are often less clearly defined. Rather than providing the specialized knowledge and skills and the value orientations required of a single profession, the academic disciplines tend to stress the flexibility of the graduate's career options. Curricula leading to a B.A. degree are especially designed to instill a broad knowledge in many fields—an understanding of how the arts and humanities, the social and behavioral sciences, and the natural and physical sciences define and explore the universe—with only limited depth pursued in a single area of study. This liberal education focuses on developing a competent and intelligent citizenry (Parsons and Platt 1973, p. 165). The socialization process at work here is, thus, also more general. It is expected to inculcate the value of scholarship, competence, and tolerance of diversity necessary in a pluralistic society such as ours (Parsons and Platt 1973, p. 199). The conditions maximizing the socialization process in general education, however, are essentially the same as those maximizing the socialization process in professional education. Only the specific end is different.

The first section of this paper will define the major terms utilized—"socialization," "identity," and "profession." In the second section, the socialization process in professional education will be examined, since the research directly concerned with the process as it works in undergraduate general education is scanty. Despite its title, the report prepared for the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, *The American College and American Culture: Socialization as a Function of Higher Education* (Handlin and Handlin 1970), does not examine the socialization process *per se*, but rather examines the interface between American society and higher education, with special emphasis on how changes in society are reflected in changes in higher education institutions. Thus, the findings of studies of the socialization process in professional and graduate academic education will be considered in some detail. Although programs are unique in terms of content, the process of learning the values of the several professions is similar and, therefore, the socialization process is similar. The interaction of students with the structural features of the educa-

tional setting, with faculty members, and with fellow students is depended upon to develop a special sense of identity in the students.

In the final section, these findings about the socialization process will be examined for their application to and implications for the two- and four-year, general college experience.

## Definitions

*Socialization*

What is socialization? Formally defined, socialization is that process by which individuals acquire the values, attitudes, norms, knowledge, and skills needed to perform their roles acceptably in the group or groups in which they are, or seek to be, members (adapted from Merton et al. 1957, p. 41, and Bloom 1963, p. 78). In short, it is the process by which an individual achieves his identity within the group. The end product of the socialization process is the incorporation of group values and norms into the individual's self-image. By extension, professional socialization is socialization to a particular role in society, the role of the professional. It is the acquisition of the specialized knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, norms, and interests of the profession that the individual wishes to practice. The end product of successful professional socialization is professional identity.

There are three important and distinct elements in this definition of socialization. First, socialization is a continuous process whose end product is the acceptable functioning of the individual in his ascribed roles. Since individuals have and assume several statuses in society, they have and assume several roles during a lifetime. For example, the young child learns what it means to be a boy or a girl. Later he or she learns what is and is not acceptable behavior for a student. Later still the person learns what it means to be a worker, a parent, a spouse, and for some, a retired person or a widow(er). Thus, the socialization process is an on-going, lifelong process.

Second, socialization is a *learning* process. Acceptable behavior, values and attitudes for the performance of a particular role are not inherent in an individual, but must be acquired. As a learning process, socialization relies on the motivation of the individual to achieve a goal, on the application of positive and negative sanctions to insure conformity, and on the need for practice of acceptable responses by the individual. Practice with feedback leads to the individual's differentiation, integration, and generalization of responses and behaviors appropriate to specific roles in society (Anderson and Gates 1950). Practice means that socialization also depends on experience—an interaction of the individual with his environment. Experience may be direct or it may be vicarious; the individual can learn from both. The kind of learning that takes place in the in-

dividual is a result of the kinds of experiences in which he takes part.

Third, the socialization process is a *social* process, that is, socialization cannot occur in a vacuum. " 'To socialize' means to render *social,* to shape individuals into members of groups" (Merton et al. 1957, p. 289). As a social process, socialization consists of interactions between individuals and groups of individuals. It is a reciprocal process in that changes occur in both the person being socialized and in the person or group doing the socializing (the socializing agent).

Five steps in the socialization process can be identified when it is examined from the viewpoint of the person being socialized: (1) observation—the identification of a role model(s); (2) imitation—the "trying on" of the role model's behavior; (3) feedback—the evaluation of the "trying on" of behavior; (4) modification—the alteration or refinement of behavior as a result of evaluation; and (5) internalization—the incorporation of the role model's values and behavior patterns into the individual's self-image.[1] Therefore, the process is cyclical, in that a negative evaluation can necessitate the search for a new role model (step 1) or a refinement of the imitation of behavior (step 2). This internal aspect of socialization illustrates the observational character of the socialization process. It depends both on the individual's powers of observation and on his cognitive and physical capabilities to imitate the behavior observed.

In the first step the individual identifies a "significant other" whom he wishes to be like. This "significant other" may be a real person, e.g. his parent, a teacher, a "hero," or it may be a composite "ideal" such as the "ideal teacher" composed of selected characteristics of all teachers the individual has known. Through what Bandura (1969) calls "symbolic coding," the individual observes a behavior that he wishes to duplicate and stores the image of this behavior in his mind. This image then can be called forth by verbal or visual cues and copied by the individual. The retention of the image is dependent upon rehearsal. Rehearsal may be either covert (daydreaming or solo role playing) or overt. Overt rehearsal is the second step in the socialization process—the individual imitates the behavior of the "significant other" as he perceives it. In the third step, further retention of the image is dependent upon positive reinforcement of the behavior by a significant other. If the behavior is reinforced, the individual begins to see himself in the role he has "tried on." If it

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[1] These steps are a synthesis based on several references, especially Anderson 1974; Fife 1971; Aronfreed 1969; Bandura 1969; and Parsons 1951.

is not reinforced or if it is assessed negatively, the behavior is discarded, and the entire process begins again.

In the final step, the individual adopts the behavior, attitude or value as his own. It becomes intrinsically rewarding to him, a habit incorporated into his identity.[2] In sum, the person being socialized observes a behavior which he likes, copies it, and if he is positively reinforced, he internalizes it. Socialization is not complete until internalization occurs.

In professional socialization, the internalization of professional behavior and norms is of particular importance.

> Internalization of norms . . . [reduces] the necessity of surveillance . . . Occupations of professional status are granted varying degrees of autonomy in their performance. Unless balanced by self-imposed responsibility, the exercise of professional power would be intolerable and unstable (Moore 1969, p. 869).

Therefore, the success of the socialization process in professional education rests on the internalization of professional norms and values by the neophyte.

The role of the socializing agent is suggested in this description of the internal process of socialization. The socializing agent embodies the goal of the person being socialized. The socializing agent functions as both model and goal clarifier. Through extrinsic rewards he may provide the initial motivation that sets the internal process in motion. For example, the parent who gives a child money or a "star" for completed chores is attempting to establish his own value of work in the child. The socializing agent becomes a "significant other" if he has influence over the individual. In the lifelong process of socialization, a person has several significant others, "people directly involved in socialization who have great influence because of their frequency of contact, their primacy, and their control over rewards and punishment" (Brim and Wheeler 1966, p. 8). The role model who commands authority is more influential in shaping the behavior of the individual through sanctions or the threat of sanctions than is the role model without such authority, e.g. the "ideal" (Elkin and Handel 1972, p. 56). Thus, in the literature on socialization, parents, teachers, husbands and wives, and employers are frequently described as socializing agents.

The socializing agent is also an evaluator who provides feedback to

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[2] Argyris and Schon (1974) distinguish between "identification" and "internalization": "Identification" depends upon sanctions, while "internalization" means the behavior is intrinsically satisfying.

the individual on how well he is progressing toward his goal. Feedback may be positive or negative; it may be verbal or physical. The more immediate the feedback, the greater its influence on the individual's future behavior.

Finally, as noted earlier, socialization is an interaction process dependent for its effects upon reciprocity between the socializing agent and the person being socialized. It is a mutual interaction, not an indoctrination process. Socialization has long been confused with "acculturation" where "one group [takes] over elements of the culture of other groups" (Olesen and Whittaker 1970, p. 192). This is not socialization. Socialization leads to the sharing of value patterns between the person being socialized and the socializing agent. This sharing works both ways, as is evidenced in the story of the "eminent scientist" who introduced a graduate student at a professional meeting with, "This is one of the best students from whom I've had the privilege to learn" (Mix 1971, p. 99). The relationship between socializing agent and the person being socialized is reciprocal, not unidirectional.

> Students may influence the behavior of professors in a number of ways: for example, through claims based upon affectional ties . . . by attaching themselves to some member of the faculty who acts as an ally and intercessor . . . or by performing so well that their services are attractive to the agent (Rosen and Bates 1967, p. 80).

Also, while an individual may imitate certain behaviors of his role model, he does not become a carbon copy of him. He imitates, after all, what he *perceives* to be the role model's behavior, values, and attitudes. In addition, the role model himself is changing due to the socialization processes to which he is subject. Therefore, while we speak of "conformity" to norms and values of a group, there is much latitude in the bounds of acceptable behavior.

In professional socialization, there is an added problem for the neophyte in learning the norms of the profession:

> for each norm there tends to be at least one coordinate norm, which is, if not inconsistent with the other, at least sufficiently different as to make it difficult for the student and [professional] to live up to them both (Merton et al. 1957, p. 72).

For example, the aspiring lawyer learns that his first duty is to his client; yet at the same time he also accepts certain obligations as an officer of the court. Likewise, the aspiring professor learns to value the maintenance of academic standards of excellence; yet at the same

time he accepts responsibility for helping students to learn. In specific cases these responsibilities may conflict and the professional must decide which responsibility has precedence. To make this judgment, the neophyte professional must learn not only the norms of the profession to which he aspires, but also a sense of priorities for applying the norms in conflicting or changing situations.

In sum, the socialization process is a learning process consisting of interaction between the person being socialized and his environment. Thus far this environmental element has been discussed primarily in terms of the socializing agent as role model. However, the environment in education is more complex than this. It includes not only the faculty member as role model, but also the structural features of the educational setting and the student's peers as both socializing agents and as fellow neophytes.

*Identity*

The end product of successful socialization is the internalization of group values into the individual's self-image or, in other words, the development of his identity within the group. As used in this paper the concept of "identity" is derived from Erikson's concept of "ego identity" as well as from Chickering's delineation of Erikson's concept as it applies to students of college age. Erikson (1963) posits eight developmental stages or "ages of man," each revolving around a psychological crisis that man must resolve before he can enter the next stage. In the fifth stage, which he labels "Identity vs. Role Confusion," he defines identity as

> the accrued experience of the ego's ability to integrate all identifications with the vicissitudes of the libido, with the aptitudes developed out of endowment, and with the opportunities offered in social roles. The sense of ego identity, then, is the accrued confidence that the inner sameness and continuity prepared in the past are matched by the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others, as evidenced in the tangible promise of a "career" (Erikson 1963, pp. 261-2).

The essence of this concept is that the formation of an individual's identity is a continual process of integration at once" 'located' in the core of the individual and yet also in the core of his communal culture . . ." (Erikson 1968, p. 22).

Chickering (1969) expands upon Erikson's concept to focus on the development of college students, and suggests a grid composed of seven developmental vectors, each contributing to a total individual identity. He labels these vectors: achieving competence, managing emotions, becoming autonomous, establishing a core identity, freeing

interpersonal relationships, clarifying purposes, and developing integrity. The first three vectors are relatively independent of each other, but each of these three must be completed before the fourth and succeeding vectors can develop.

The identity that socialization in higher education attempts to impart is composed of a sense of intellectual competence based on the development of critical thinking abilities, a sense of autonomy derived from rational judgment, and a sense of commitment to continued cognitive learning and to the tolerance of diversity necessary in a pluralistic social system (Parsons and Platt 1973). Undergraduate education that is primarily general education does not usually purport to prepare students for specific careers, although skills learned will most probably be utilized in an individual's career. Undergraduate general education is

> preparation for citizenship in a pluralized, institutionally individualized societal community. Differentiated values constitute a basis for the normative order of such a community . . . (Parsons and Platt 1973, p. 191).

On the other hand, professional education is preparation for a specific career. The end product of successful professional socialization is professional identity or the internalization of the norms of the profession into the individual's self-image. Professional identity, then, is the acquisition of the specific competence in knowledge and skill, autonomy of judgment, and responsibility and commitment to the profession that is shared by all full-fledged members of the profession and that also mark for the group and for outsiders the individual as a member of his chosen profession.

*Profession*

What is a "profession?" The title itself is sufficiently prestigious that most occupational groups claim it for themselves. Yet the "man on the street" is unwilling to grant the title to all who claim it. The title is a symbol that the man on the street would define by citing examples. From commonly accepted examples, sociologists have established a working definition and a set of criteria to measure the degree to which an occupation has achieved professional status. One of the earliest definitions and set of criteria were proffered by Abraham Flexner in his address "Is Social Work a Profession?" (1915). Current definitions and criteria are refinements and clarifications of his initial statement. In both his classic and the current definitions, an occupation is a profession if it embodies the following elements to a significant degree:

(1) it has a distinct body of esoteric knowledge derived from empirical research, scholarly activity, and/or logical analysis;

(2) it possesses a special craftsmanship or technique through which this knowledge is applied to the human social condition; and

(3) it tends to hold a monopoly on the social application of this knowledge and technique—a monopoly granted by a society in need of the professional's knowledge and skills with the condition that the professionals in concert set standards for entry and continuance in professional practice (adapted from Andersen 1974; Becker 1962; Mix 1971; and Schein 1972).

The first two elements in this definition imply that extensive and intensive education is required to become a professional practitioner. Without the mastery of the distinct body of knowledge and the skills of the profession, a person cannot become a member of the profession. However, the third element in the definition suggests that there is an additional dimension to learning over and above the mastery of knowledge and skill. The aspiring professional must also learn the standards and values by which he may practice the application of this knowledge. He learns these values and standards from already accepted members of the profession, for in exchange for autonomy of judgment, the various professionals have assumed responsibility for preparing future practitioners. In the United States each profession has primary control over the education of future practitioners of the profession.

A professional, then, is knowledgeable and skillful in a particular area of service to society. This is paramount: a person cannot be a lawyer without an intimate knowledge of the law, or a physician without the knowledge and techniques required to practice medicine. So it is with every profession. The professional is autonomous in judgment when using his knowledge and skill in that he is not subject to review by nonprofessionals, i.e. those who do not possess his knowledge and skills. In fact, the professional "role demands that the individual remain professionally autonomous, that he can make judgments that are independent of, can conflict with, and even refute those of his peers" (Mix 1971, p. 197). The professional is responsible to himself and to his professional colleagues for the proper execution of the application of this knowledge and skill. The professional is willing to be his own judge. He knows what he must do and is willing to do it (Mix 1971, p. 198).

Implicit in each of these elements is commitment—the professional must be committed to a way of life composed of learning and service.

"What matters most is professional *spirit*" is Flexner's way of defining this necessary commitment (1915, p. 590). Commitment to a profession is the individual's "happiness, satisfaction, and devotion to his job," a state dependent upon a "net balance of rewards over costs" (Schoenherr and Greeley 1974, p. 407). Thus, an individual's continuance in his professional role assumes the individual has assessed and rejected feasible alternative roles (p. 410). Commitment is also the force or inner constraint that provides consistency to an individual's behavior (Becker 1960). Commitment, then, is composed of both dedication to and satisfaction with the specific tasks and norms of the chosen occupation after all other alternatives have been examined.

> Commitment means that [autonomy] comes first, that [the professional's] actions are based on it, and that he must be a professional with all other roles subordinate. He exchanges part of his choice of alternatives for professionally autonomous judgment (Mix 1971, p. 197).

"Commitment" embodies the internalization of professional values.

Thus, the purpose of professional education is not only to impart to the aspiring professional that body of esoteric knowledge and those skills requisite to its application, but also to develop within him the autonomy, responsibility, and commitment necessary to a professional. It is the acquisition of this professional identity which is, or ought to be, the end product of the socialization process in professional education.

## The Process Delineated

Most research on the socialization process in higher education has been carried out on professional and graduate academic education. Yet not all professions are equally well studied; medical, nursing, legal, and graduate academic education provide the most data. Graduate academic education is here considered professional education because it is the training of the scholar or scientist. "The graduate student is an intern in the profession for which he is preparing" just as is the medical student or the law student (Bent 1959, p. 144).

From these studies common elements in the socialization process can be determined and related to the development of identity in the students. Three aspects of interaction between the student and his environment—the interaction of students with the structures of the educational setting, the interacion beween students and faculty members, and the interaction among students in the same educational program—will be examined. These three aspects will be artificially separated for analysis, although the student interacts with all three simultaneously. Finally, whether the socialization process in professional education has been successful in developing professional identity in students will be assessed.

*The Structures of the Educational Setting*

The educational setting has distinct structural features with which the student interacts. These structures effect or facilitate change in the student's attitudes and values because they reflect the attitudes and values of the profession itself. LeVine (1966) identifies six structural features of educational institutions:

(1) the student selection process,

(2) the isolation of students from outside influences,

(3) the consistency of institutional (program) goals,

(4) the explicitness of values and role models,

(5) the provisions of opportunities for practicing responses, and

(6) the provision of both positive and negative sanctions as feedback to students (pp. 114-7).

These elements exist to a greater or lesser extent in all educational settings.

*Selection*—Admissions criteria are designed to select students capable of attaining competence in the professional knowledge and techniques necessary for practice. However, for most professions available measures of capability are less than perfect, so that other measures of both capability and progress toward competence are incorporated into the educational process. Students' progress in individual courses is graded and satisfactory grades must be achieved to continue in the program. Since most grades granted are A or B, they do not provide adequate positive reinforcement; however, a lower grade acts as a strong negative sanction (Mix 1971, p. 66). In graduate schools, including colleges of education, special examinations are also built into the structure—the qualifying or candidacy examination, the general or comprehensive examination, and the writing and defense of a dissertation. In other professional programs similar tests of competency follow the formal educational process—the bar examination for lawyers, and the state licensing examinations for nurses, physicians, and certified public accountants. Although these latter examinations are external to the education process itself, they influence the curriculum of the professional school and are controlled by the profession.

In addition to assessing and providing feedback on competence, the selection procedure and these various examinations also serve to assess the student's commitment to the profession. As an integral aspect of professional education, they serve to inform the student that competence and commitment are goals and values of the profession students are expected to internalize. These sequential "gateways" (examinations) perform the useful function of permitting the socializing agents to review the student's progress at established times and to then either signal him "that he is making headway or facilitate his elimination from the program" (Rosen and Bates 1967, p. 79). In other words, these "gateways" provide set times and opportunities known to both the socializing agent and the student when the student will be judged on his competence and when feedback on his progress will be provided. However, in practice occasional problems occur.

> It sometimes happens that marginal students win their way through to the end partly because agents have examined their work in too remote and segmented a fashion, or because each evidence of ability has not been seen in the total context (Rosen and Bates 1976, p. 79).

Or occasionally students are allowed to "dawdle" for a long period without being required to face up to the hurdle they are avoiding.

Viewed in another light, comprehensive/general examinations in a

Ph.D. program are an "initiation rite"[3] that in themselves accomplish a change in students' identities. Research in 1968 on 32 Ph.D. candidates at M.I.T. shows students who pass the comprehensive examination report a self-image similar to their concept of the ideal professor. They rate themselves more competent and confident of achieving the Ph.D. than they did *just prior to the exam* (Hall 1968). Thus, the examination appears to have symbolic meaning for the student as a gateway or rite of acceptance.

The structure of the professional education process is also designed to "weed out" the uncommitted. Four elements of the structure are designed for this purpose: (1) the selection process, (2) an introduction to the "dirty work" of the profession, (3) competition, and (4) the "reality shock" of actual practice (Hearn, Manning and Habenstein 1968). The selection process is the first screening of the committed student. It is assumed that some student commitment is necessary to initiate and follow through the admissions procedure of professional schools. In addition, of course, the student's commitment is assessed from letters of reference, personal interviews, and statements of aims prior to admission.

*Rehearsal*—Each profession has certain tasks considered "dirty work"—that is, the less glamorous aspects of the profession—that the student is asked to perform. The would-be nurse empties bedpans, the would-be teacher puts up bulletin boards, the would-be lawyer researches briefs, the would-be physician takes histories, and the would-be chemist washes test tubes. The socializing agent assesses the student's attitudes as well as his performance in executing these less glamorous tasks to determine both the student's level of commitment and his readiness for further responsibility. The student, too, assesses his performance. Some decide at this point that the profession is not for them and drop out of the educational process. Their commitment is assumed to be less than that required.

Competition is high in professional education settings. The medical students compete to be assigned the "interesting" clinic cases, for example, and the first-year law students compete in class to impress the instructor with their grasp of the adversary technique. The less

[3] According to anthropologist Arnold van Gennep (1960), an initiation rite is one step in a "rites of passage" process including: (1) separation, (2) initiation, and (3) incorporation or reintegration. Presumably for graduate and professional education, separation is accomplished by admission to a graduate or professional program and incorporation by the conferral of the degree (or passage of licensing examination), which signifies the acceptance of the neophyte as a full-fledged member of the profession.

able competitor may leave of his own accord, showing a lack of commitment, or may be counseled out by faculty who consider a lack of competitiveness a lack of commitment to succeed.

Finally, many professional education programs provide students "reality shock" in the form of clinical experience. Would-be teachers are required to student-teach and medical students become interns. Student nurses are provided early experiences "on the wards" through which they develop coping mechanisms to handle the emotional "shocks" to their prior sense of "modesty," and they learn to cope with death (Maukesh 1963). This process is called "role aging," in that the young woman must suddenly "age" to respond as both an adult and a professional; in fact, she must "age" to survive in the educational program.

These clinical experiences are part of the formal structure of the socialization process. They offer the student a chance to practice applying his knowledge and skills, and an opportunity to "try on" his new identity. As Horowitz (1964) concludes "accretions of knowledge and skill, plus practice in using them [brings] a growing sense of *professional identity*, an increasing awareness of one's professional role and a slowly evolving feeling of competence" (p. 154). Those who complete clinical work successfully have demonstrated their commitment and their competence.

Not all professions, however, provide formal internships within the educational structure. Some make certain practical experiences optional or available to only a select few. In law, for example, summer clerkships are available to some and a few students become editors of the school's law review. Formal clinical experience or internships are relatively new developments.[4] Ohio State, UCLA, the University of San Diego, New York University, and Georgetown University Law Center are a few of the law schools that have established clinical experience in the curriculum in recent years (Leslie 1974, pp. 24-30). Lortie (1959) regards student contact with actual practice essential for a full recognition of the self in the role one is to play. "I wasn't prepared" is the common reply to his questionnaire regarding law school preparation for practice. Respondents further report an incomplete conception of what a "lawyer's work" is. Lortie concludes that the major socialization of lawyers has been relegated to the years after law school (p. 369).

Livingston (1970) condemns schools of business administration for

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[4] See Parker and Ehrlich (1972, Chapter 4) and Hughes et al. (1973, pp. 135-138) for a discussion of the pros and cons of clinical education in law.

much the same failure. He sees business school graduates unable to cope with the human relationships in the work setting, and recommends that students be taught "the art of being a superior subordinate," a task perhaps best carried out in some kind of field training (p. 38). Schools of business administration, like law schools, offer only limited opportunities for practical experience, although "ideally, students *should* have supervised practical experience to go with their formal training on campus" (Gordon and Howell 1959, p. 372). Some institutions offer internships, e.g. Stanford's Urban Management Program; some emphasize the importance of part-time work, e.g. CCNY; and a few operate under a cooperative plan, e.g. Northeastern, Drexel, and Cincinnati.

Engineering schools, too, have experimented with cooperative plans, while several religious denominations provide internships as part of seminary training (Hughes et al. 1973, pp. 188-189). Whether called an internship, a clerkship, or a cooperative program, the trend appears to be toward the inclusion of clinical experience where it has not been a part of the educational structure earlier (Mayhew 1971, pp. 23, 34).

Practical experience of a less extensive nature is evident in education for all the professions in course work itself, through a variety of learning modes. In medicine, nursing, and dentistry there are laboratories and demonstrations. In law and business education extensive use is made of case studies. In the law school, an entire mode of learning called the "case method" has evolved. Designed to make the wanted to enter medicine), but the student

> this focus dominates standard law school teaching: the use of appellate cases to extract principles of reasoning, and the Socratic method of contact between teachers and students. Classes are large; law school teachers are almost legendary for their virtuoso style, skill at performance, and ability to put students on the defensive. The Socratic questioning sequence gives law school classrooms an adversary, hostile atmosphere . . . (Hughes et al. 1973, p. 155).

In education for business, practical methods include the study of cases, role playing, and simulation games (Gordon and Howell 1959, pp. 368-372; Pierson et al. 1959, pp. 287-290).

> In the business world . . . it is the ability to analyze, to judge trends, to weigh diverse influences, that leads to sound judgment; and that ability can be developed only through practice (Orth 1963, p. 33).

This practice is provided through the study of cases and in the

process the student is also expected to develop "a concept of ethical values and of social responsibility . . ." (Orth 1963, p. 34).

*Social Responsibility*—Another trend in education for the professions is the development of new programs and courses emphasizing the social responsibility of the professional. This trend involves the direct teaching of professional standards in response to public criticism that indirect means through role modeling have not been sufficient. Several medical schools, e.g. the Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons and the University of Florida, have developed courses in medical ethics (Veatch and Gaylin 1972; Banks and Vastyan 1973). Gordon and Howell (1959) advocate the establishment of a capstone "policy" course in business administration to integrate the student's knowledge with social responsibility and personal attitudes (p. 207). Leslie (1974) lists "exemplary" programs in rural medicine at the University of Missouri and the University of Colorado; in family practice medicine at The Pennsylvania State University and the University of Pennsylvania; in preventive and community dentistry at Washington University at St. Louis, Fairleigh Dickinson, and the University of Alabama; in community organization (social work) at the University of Minnesota-Duluth; in teacher education for minority and disadvantaged students at Temple and Mankato State; and in environmental engineering at California Institute of Technology, Washington State, and Worcester Polytechnical Institute. These new programs all reflect a conscious effort by the profession to fulfill its responsibility to society and to instruct students in this responsibility.

In summary, the structures of the educational setting are important aspects of the student's socialization to professional identity. Through these structures the student learns what is expected of him. The values of competence and commitment are made explicit through the professional program's selection procedure, sequence of examinations, practical experiences, and individual courses and dominant teaching modes. In each of these the student's competence in knowledge and skill and his commitment to the profession are assessed and feedback is offered regarding his progress or lack thereof toward the goal of acceptance into professional status.

### *Faculty Members as Socializing Agents*

While the catalog informs the student of a program's structure by outlining its goals and its dominant values, the faculty members are the primary socializing agents for the neophyte professional. The faculty members transmit their attitudes, values, and behavorial

norms both formally—through the structures they establish and through the courses they teach—and informally—through individual advising and supervising of study and through social activities. The previous section concentrated on the formal transmission of values through structure. This section will examine research on the less formal interaction of faculty and students and its influence on student values.

*Importance of Role Model*—Socializing agents influence values, attitudes, and behavior as role models and by verbal cues or feedback. As indicated earlier, the role model is a person, real or idealized, chosen by the student to imitate. If the role model is in close contact with the student, for example a parent or teacher, positive and negative sanctioning can be explicit. However, if the role model is idealized, feedback can only be implicit, that is, the student uses the role model as a yardstick to measure his own behavior and then applies sanctions to himself.

How important is a role model in professional education? Medical students more often than law students name a role model influential in their decision to pursue the profession. Medical students "choose a figure in the profession, as a model to imitate and an ideal with which to compare their own performance" (Merton et al. 1957 p. 137). Similarly, the significance and use of role models differ from profession to profession. For example, the student in physiology is usually not committed to the field when he enters graduate study (most wanted to enter medicine), but the student

> is often able to model his behavior after that of a professor or of an ideal constructed of the characteristics of several professors, learning through observations of them the kinds of tasks which physiologists in fact perform (Becker and Carper 1956, p. 292).

The student is frequently "deliberately groomed by the professor for some particular kind of job . . ." (p. 292). On the other hand, engineering students generally enter their programs already committed and with a strong sense of identification with the field. Their identification and goals, therefore, do not change much during the education process. Johnson et al. (1970) also conclude in their study of dental students' perceptions of the profession that "the significant factors involved in the acquisition of beliefs about the profession are related to experience prior to entrance" (p. 10).

These studies indicate that a role model is important to the professional education process. However, in some professions the role model is an individual or "ideal" who is instrumental in the stu-

dent's choice of profession, while in others the role model is influential in shaping the student's commitment to the profession after he has been admitted to the educational process. Furthermore, professional role model identification may not be a "single individual" concept, but may instead be a serial process.

> A shift is often found among students from an idealistic to a pragmatic orientation. This shift is due to students frequently changing role models as they progress through various stages of the [educational] system (Ondrack 1975, p. 97).

A student may enter a professional program with an "ideal" role model, shift to an instructor as role model, and shift once more to a supervisor of clinical work as role model. Before completing the program, students may shift again to an ""ideal" composite of all three previous role models.

Finally, the socialization process can be a "collective responsibility" of the department, rather than the master-apprentice relationship found in European graduate education (Stanford University 1972, p. 34). The quality of Ph.D. programs is dependent on the qaulity of the relationship between the individual student and his advisor, since "successful socialization is both a measure and the end result of an effective graduate program" (Stanford University 1972, p. 44).

In an examination of the congruency of expectations of the role of "sponsor" (adviser) by faculty and students in the School of Education at UCLA, no consensus *among the faculty* on the role of the sponsor, on the amount of direction or control the sponsor ought to have over the student, or on the definition of "research" skills and the nature and purpose of the dissertation has been found. No consensus among the students exists either on the latter two, but the students do agree on the importance of the role of the sponsor, on the desire to spend more time with the sponsor, and about the need for a more personal relationship with him (Sorenson and Kagan 1967). Graduate students perceive accessibility to be the biggest problem in the relationship with their advisers or committee chairmen (Stewart 1969). Adviser availability may be a sign of the acceptance of the student by the faculty (Mix 1971, p. 120).

*Coaching Strategies*: *Feedback*—Strauss (1959) compares the role of the mentor to "a coach."

> A coaching relationship exists if someone seeks to move someone else along a series of steps, when those steps are not entirely institutionalized and invariant, and when the learner is not entirely clear about their sequences (although the coach is) (p. 110).

The learner needs the coach because he needs explanations and interpretations of new events and experiences as well as guidance through this sequence of steps. On the part of the student, trust in the mentor is crucial to his willingness to take risks inherent in new experiences. To sustain this trust, correct timing on the part of the mentor is vital. The mentor may move the student along too fast (causing fear, loss of faith, or withdrawal) or too slow (causing boredom). A balance must be developed. The mentor may also bind the student too close by not granting him enough independence to develop capability and interest on his own. On the other hand, the relationship may be too impersonal, and, if the mentor has supervised many students, the process may become too standardized. Finally, the mentor may fail to sustain the trust necessary to the relationship by inadequate support or because of his own anxieties (Strauss 1959, pp. 109-118).

There are four "crucial tactics" in this coaching process. The first is prescription, the establishment for the student of a step-by-step progression or routine. Second is the schedule or time in which the student is expected to complete each step or routine. A third tactic is the use of the challenge or dare to motivate the student to do something he may be hesitant to do. Finally, the mentor may use accusation or reprimand, especially when he sees the student sliding into old habits. The latter two tactics may prove to be markers or milestones in the student's progress toward professional identity. However, if not expertly handled, they may also sever the trust already developed and therefore sever the relationship itself and prevent further learning (Strauss 1959).

The use of laughter and silence are teaching techniques used to adjudicate "identity errors" (Olsen and Whittaker 1966). The adjudication cycle consists of a claim by a student to professional identity in a particular situation. If the student is in error, that is, if the claim is not justified because the behavior is not congruent with professional norms, then the claim is followed by realignment wherein the student is set straight by either the faculty member, the peer group, or both. Both laughter and silence are used to make the student aware that he has made an identity error, so that realignment can take place. Laughter allows the "offender" to conform to both student and faculty norms, provides criticism and acceptance simultaneously, allows interaction to continue, and yet communicates that an error has been made. Silence, on the other hand, does not allow for the continuation of interaction, making realignment difficult. The importance attached to identity errors is also illustrated by

Mauksch's study (1963) of nursing students, in which he finds that failure in professional role behavior is more severely censured than are technical mistakes (p. 90).

The importance of feedback is also illustrated in an examination of student change scores on indices of personality characteristics and professional values in the professions of social work, law, public administration, business administration, and career army officers. Career army officers evidence the greatest change toward congruence of personality characteristics and professional values of the five professional groups studied. The reason for this greater change toward congruency can be attributed to the intensiveness of the training program (O.C.S.), the considerable amount of practical work included in the training program, and *the continuous feedback to the students on their deficiencies and how they may be overcome* (Walther, McCune and Petersen 1968, p. 48). This third reason directly illustrates a primary function of the socializing agent—to provide feedback on the neophyte's progress.

*Collegiality*—The Stanford study observation that socialization is a "collective responsibility" suggests that a department's faculty develop a value climate. In fact, a department develops several value climates that are influential in the socialization process (Christie and Merton 1958). "Socialization is more pronounced under conditions of high attitude and value consistency among significant others," who are represented in this study by teaching staff and clinical experience supervisors (Ondrack 1975, p. 101). Where teaching staff and supervisors differ, less value consensus is found among students about to graduate.

In his study of the relationship between student-faculty interaction and the student's career preferences, Gottlieb (1961) finds that departments in which all faculty members share a common goal or value-orientation (e.g. a research orientation) produce a greater change in student career preferences toward that goal than do "splintered" departments. The higher the degree of student-faculty integration in the department (defined as the greater number of students responding that they know the faculty well), the greater the student's change in career preference toward the faculty preference, even when the length of time the student has been in the program is controlled. He concludes that

> integration with the faculty disposes one toward change and raises the probability that [the student] will have opportunities to discuss his career plans with the faculty members . . . [C]ues imparted to the students by

> the faculty have a significant effect on the direction of changes in career preferences (p. 270).

Another aspect of "value climate" is the perceived level of collegiality among faculty and students. Hughes et al. (1973), in contrasting the studies of the Cornell and the Kansas University medical schools, remark on the importance to the student of a sense of collegiality:

> The Cornell students are portrayed as physicians-in-training; the Kansas students, as "boys in white," which reflects the difference between the context in which students are already accepted as colleagues, proceeding more or less smoothly to full membership in the profession, and one in which students and faculty are set apart, with distinctive and even conflicting interests and with students in an isolated and subordinate position which makes it clear that they are not yet professionals (p. 91).

The level of collegiality (the extent to which doctoral students are treated as colleagues by the faculty) perceived by the students is a predictor of both academic and nonacademic satisfaction in graduate school. Perceived collegiality accounts for more than one-third of the variance in graduate school satisfaction (Gregg 1972). Although satisfaction *per se* is not the goal of a graduate program, satisfaction does influence both continuation in the program and achievement.

Collegiality appears to be related to the amount and kinds of informal or out-of-class interaction between faculty and students. In a number of professional schools there appears to be little out-of-class interaction, at least during the first year of the student's program: e.g. Orth (1963) reports no or minimal out-of-class association with faculty at the Harvard Business School (p. 41); Becker et al. (1961) report little out-of-class contact between instructor and medical student at Kansas; and Mix (1971) reports that contact with faculty is limited to course work during the first year of law and medical school at SUNY at Buffalo (p. 158). Yet, while this contact has not often been provided, it perhaps ought to be:

> Informal student-faculty gatherings, joint work on common problems, shared nonprofessional activities do not make a medical school great, but coupled with intellectual excellence, they provide an atmosphere in which each student is encouraged to become as great as he is capable of being (Miller et al. 1961, p. 34).

Mix (1971) examines extensively the informal interaction of faculty and students in the graduate school. She delineates four kinds of interaction by setting and by purpose. The first setting involves "de-

partmental space." Usually a program's faculty are assigned offices in a particular contiguous area—along a floor or in one wing. In this area they also maintain secretarial services and essential equipment, e.g. laboratories or library, duplicating machines, and perhaps a coffee pot. Graduate students who are provided a desk or some other space within this area come to see it as "home." More important, the students by their mere presence have readier access to faculty members and are party to informal exchanges of all types, so that they are in a position to observe and assess faculty behavior, attitudes, and values on a daily basis. Students given "space" are able to "learn the ropes"[5] more easily and efficiently. Students allotted part of the program's space "come around to our way of life" more often and quicker than do those who are not allotted such space (Mix 1971, pp. 72-73). There is evidence here to indicate that student involvement fosters a feeling of acceptance or belonging—in sum, a feeling of collegiality—which provides an atmosphere conducive to the identification of appropriate role models, and to role-taking or practice, ingredients essential to successful socialization.

Second, student participation in faculty meetings and on faculty committees provides them the opportunity to practice another aspect of their future professional role. Third, student participation in professional meetings and joint publication with faculty provides yet another opportunity for practice of a future professional role. Often student participation in professional meetings and joint publication are tied together, i.e. a student and his sponsor may write a paper jointly which they are then asked to present at a professional meeting. Attendance at a professional association meeting is an "education" in itself. Here the student is exposed to the "authorities" in his area of study, persons who have probably written the books he has been studying. In these "authorities" he observes another potential role model of success in his profession (Mix 1971, pp. 83-84).

Finally, joint student-faculty social events provide students an opportunity to observe more intimately the faculty's life-style. There are two kinds of social events; one arranged by the faculty to introduce students, or selected students, to visiting professionals and the other arranged by either students, faculty or both, such as . . . as a husband-and-wife social event. The introduction of students to visiting professionals has four purposes: (1) it may be used to reward high achievers

[5] Geer et al. (1968) define "learning the ropes" as finding out things relevant to mastering the situation. For the student this includes identifying persons or groups who affect his progress, learning what they do and what they know, and finally, learning how to interact with them properly (p. 228).

or to indicate acceptance; (2) it may present to students a new model of excellence to emulate; (3) it may serve to teach students appropriate behavior through demonstration; and (4) it may serve to revive sagging motivation by exposure to success. A husband-and-wife event, on the other hand, serves primarily to acquaint students with a professional life-style and to test student sociability. It may take the form of a holiday party or a spring picnic. It may take place in a faculty member's home or it may be a formal dinner "out"(Mix 1971, pp. 66-67).

Another kind of student-faculty interaction is sports. Male students invited to play golf, tennis, squash, or handball by male faculty members observe another side of the professor's life and are accorded a degree of acceptance not open to those not chosen to participate. It is these informal interactions between faculty and students,

> the interaction between master scholar and neophyte in laboratories, in seminars, in attendance at conferences, in social situations such as departmental parties, and in a host of other comparable activities that turn(s) the neophyte into the incipient disciplinarian or professional (Anderson 1974, p. 17).

In summary, the interaction between the faculty and students formally and informally serves as the basis for the transmission of attitudes and values from the professional to the neophyte. There is a variety to this interaction, each kind complementing another. The role of the sponsor or mentor is central to the socialization process, especially in the graduate school, but the faculty in the aggregate create the setting, the value climate, in which the process occurs. The most successful socialization, measured in terms of congruency between the profession's goals and the exiting neophyte's identity, is a product of a successful coaching relationship, a consensus among faculty of the goals to be achieved, and a perception of collegiality or acceptance on the part of the student. Both formal and informal interactions contribute to these conditions.

*The Student Peer Group*

Upon entering a program of professional education, students interact with both the formal structure of that program and with the faculty members who guide them through it. They also interact with each other on two levels: (1) "old" students interact with "new" students as role models and information sources, and (2) students interact with each other as fellow neophytes. Both types of interaction are part of the socialization process that influences the student's professional identity.

*Student Subculture*—The peer group in the socialization of children and youth provides the exercise of independence from adults and acts as a source of nonadult approval and acceptance (Parsons 1964). In one sense the peer group performs a similar function in the socialization process in professional education. The importance of the peer group in the socialization process increases when the number and availability of other role models decreases (Fife 1971, p. 10). Student "subcultures develop best when a number of people are faced with common problems and interact both intensively and extensively . . . to find solutions for them" (Hughes, Becker, and Geer 1962, p. 521). These two conditions obtain in most graduate professional schools. For example, subcultures develop in medical schools where students are both isolated from outside influences and interact intensively with each other. The common problem, overload, is solved by setting group "work standards." The group develops sanctions that act as constraints to prevent the "breaking" of the standards by others (Hughes, Becker, and Geer 1962).

Becker (1964) labels this process "situational adjustment." In a group with a common problem, several members experiment with a solution and report back to the group. Through consensus, the group determines the most appropriate and efficient response to the common problem. This consensus on the solution then acts as a constraint on the members of the group, and members who violate the norm are sanctioned. This situational adjustment occurs primarily "in institutions where people are acted upon *in groups* by socializing agents" (Becker 1964, p. 47).

If these hypotheses are true, then we should find more peer group solidarity in programs where student-faculty interaction outside of class is low and where the student-faculty ratio is high so that faculty members address groups of students rather than individuals. In the second section of this paper we noted that student-faculty interaction outside of class may be low in law, medical, and business schools. Thus, in these schools we ought to find distinct student subcultures. Research tends to substantiate this hypothesis. Becker et al. (1961) in their study of the Kansas University medical school describe this process of consensus formation and peer sanctioning associated with high peer-group solidarity. At first the medical student attempts to handle the information overload by himself. Eventually, however, he joins with his peers in an effort to determine "what the faculty expects of them." Essentially, the faculty does not say, or at least does not give the specific answer the students want to hear, which sets in

motion the process whereby the students set their own norms of performance.

The first year M.B.A. student at Harvard Business School is also under a constant information overload that results in his curtailing of outside involvements. Because the large class is grouped into sections of 90 students each, students tend to interact only with others in their section. In the beginning the students spend much time "picking up signals" from the faculty as to what is expected of them and attempt to adapt individually to the threat the overload poses of their self-concepts of competence (Orth 1963, p. 54). In time, by working as a group to "beat the system," they develop coping norms—an informal system of agreements on group behavior to assure safety and competence to the most members (p. 56). Group behavior in class is controlled by hissing or booing, laughter, groans, and general restlessness. While each section develops some group norms, each section develops these individually so that there is a range of appropriate behavior. In one section that developed as a social as well as a study group only a narrow range of behavior is tolerated, while in another section that organized primarily as a study group and stressed individuality, a relatively wide range of behavior is permitted. The peer group is the students' primary group. In the peer group the students receive the emotional support and encouragement they need to continue in the program (Mauksch 1963).

These studies show the peer group as essentially antagonists to the faculty. Peer group solidarity develops in opposition to faculty so that the peer group becomes the major socializing agent. Horowitz (1964) maintains that this peer group socialization is primarily to the role of *student* and not to the role of professional. He argues that the medical student, for example, is socialized to the role of physician after medical school during internship and residency and that the mentor-student relationship does not apply until that time.

*Colleagues*—Peer group solidarity can also develop in graduate education programs. Students can become colleagues to each other. "The need to belong was being met by the group of students" rather than by association with faculty members (Mix 1971, p. 107). Students in graduate school give each other valuable information, especially in choosing a dissertation adviser and in learning the rules and regulations of the program. "Old" students counsel "new" students on courses to take, procedures to follow, and ways to circumvent regulations. They offer advice on shortcuts and generally show new students "the ropes." "Old" students act as mentors for "new" students by advising them on hurdles ahead and how to surmount

them (Heiss 1970). "Experienced graduate students can be very helpful to the novice" (Harvey 1972, p. 9). In addition, students who have successfully completed clinical-experience phases of their education are treated with deference and respect by those who have not yet had this experience, an indication of the role model function (Hearn, Manning, and Habenstein 1968).

In addition to acting as role models and information sources, graduate students also serve as "pacemakers" for each other (Heiss 1967). Students starting a program together try to finish together. Finally, the peer group can also provide a desirable intellectual milieu in which to study. Mix (1971) discusses one interviewee's comment on the greater peer group involvement, and thus the greater intellectual stimulation, available to full-time graduate students, and Heiss (1970) finds that 56 percent of all graduate students she queried agree that "an intellectual *espirit de corps*" among the students exists in their programs.

*Competition*—When a feeling of solidarity exists, the peer group becomes a "supportive reference group, an information system, and a refuge" (Mix 1971, p. 132). However, competition may also exist in a program to such an extent that it isolates students from each other. Students' perceptions of competitiveness correlates negatively with their nonacademic satisfaction, i.e. the higher the perceived level of competition among students, the lower their satisfaction with personal and social life. For male students at the doctoral level, the higher the competition perceived, the lower the level of both academic and nonacademic satisfaction (Gregg 1972). The Harvard University committee on graduate education (1969) reports that "some students . . . would not discuss substantive or methodological questions of interest with their friends for fear that their friends might steal their ideas." Many graduate students become dropouts because they dislike the tough competition (Heiss 1970).

In summary, the student peer group may operate in opposition to the faculty by establishing performance norms and by sanctioning those who violate these established norms. The peer group may serve as the "home" for the student, a place where he receives the approval he needs, a place for refuge, and a place where he is treated as a colleague. More experienced students may serve as role models and as information sources for entering students. On the other hand, the peer group may be none of these to the student. Student competition may be so "stiff" that students are afraid to share information with each other. In such cases, student satisfaction is likely to be low and the dropout rate relatively high.

*Assessment*

The end product of the socialization process in education for the professions is the acquisition by the neophyte of professional identity, earlier defined as a sense of competence, autonomy, responsibility and commitment to the profession—in short, a sense of what it means to be a member of the profession. Does the process work? Do the graduates possess this sense of professional identity? The answer to these questions must be equivocal. The structures of professional education are designed primarily to test competence in knowledge and skill. In this, professional education does appear to reach its goal: graduates are knowledgeable and skillful in their field. The "testing" of autonomy, responsibility and commitment is more difficult. Menges (1973) critiques numerous instruments designed to identify and measure the characteristics a professional ought to possess. In the end he finds them all lacking in validity, although in time more valid measures may be developed.

The problem of assessment arises because of the distinction between the internalization of behavior and the internalization of values. To some extent at least behavior can be assessed, but values can only be assessed as they are evidenced in behavior. Rosow (1965) develops a four-category typology of conformity to group norms based on whether or not the individual adopts group behavior and/or group values. The "socialized" individual adopts both group behavior and group values. The "dilettante" adopts group values but not group behavior, while the "chameleon" adopts group behavior but not group values (see Figure 1).

The unsocialized and the dilettante, in this typology, are readily identifiable (and, hence, eliminated) because they do not subscribe to the behavorial norms required; the socialized individual is not a problem. The chameleon, however, as the label implies, appears to have internalized the values specified because his behavior conforms to expectations. But under stress the chameleon cannot be counted on since his behavior conforms only because it is expedient to him that it does so in specific circumstances. Rosow suggests that the chameleon flourishes in large social systems with salient rewards, limited opportunities, pluralistic values, and strong social controls. The U.S., of course, is such a system, and so also are most educational institutions. While the time and cost of professional education mitigate against it, some "chameleons" no doubt "successfully" complete professional education programs.

Any lack of success of professional socialization may be due to a discrepancy between the "ideal" and the "real." First, the "ideal" process envisioned by some faculty members is not subscribed to by all faculty members, and second, the "ideal" process may not be communicated to the students. The result is that students may experience a process quite different from the "ideal" one envisioned. Furthermore,

> to the players of either role [socializing agent and student], major parts of the other role remain unknown (though highly significant to the relationship). And on both the extent of this ignorance is seldom realized (Rosen and Bates 1967, p. 76).

In addition, the values in the profession may not be successfully communicated to the student. In comparing goal statements in catalogs to course descriptions and requirements, Fife (1971a) concludes that professional schools

> do not purposefully and with forethought direct the socialization process of the student so that he will internalize certain desired values and norms. What socialization that does occur is more hit-and-miss than planned (p. 25).

In their recent review of graduate and professional education, Mayhew and Ford (1974) suggest that entering professional practitioners are no longer embued with a sense of responsibility to the public at large. "As more and more professionals have descended from Olympus to the marketplace, the professional schools must now consider new and better ways to socialize new members" (p. 17). They suggest reasons why the "old ways" no longer work:

> Through relatively close contact with professional faculty members, the student is expected to acquire, almost unconsciously, ethical principles to guide him in his practice, but for many reasons—increased numbers of students, more complicated ethical dilemmas . . . and delocalized collegiate institutions—the more informal ways no longer work and new ones must yet be found (p. 35).

To rectify this situation they recommend that professional schools teach ethics (p. 66), and that "students should have time enough to steep themselves in clinical work until they actually feel like practitioners" (p. 85).

In sum, some critics of professional education suggest that the process of socialization is not successful for all students, in that all students do not internalize the values, attitudes, and norms of the profession. This may be true for two reasons. First, values and attitudes can at this time only be assessed through observation of behavior, and behavior may reflect only expediency and not commitment. Second, the "ideal" process of socialization may be different from the "real" process as experienced by the students, i.e. the profession may not be "practicing" the values that it "preaches." The socialization process, thus, must be viewed as a set of experiences, rather than a course of study. The outcome is only as good as the individual experiences of which it is composed.

> Learning and performance vary not only as the individual qualities of students vary but also as their social environments vary, with their distinctive climates of value and their distinctive organizational relationships among students, [and] between students and faculty . . . (Merton et al. 1957, p. 63).

While the studies examined so far indicate that the socialization process is generally effective, variability does exist principally because individuals differ and institutional characteristics vary both within and between programs. Whether individual differences or institutional characteristics account for the greater variance in the process is an appropriate topic for further research.

## Socialization and the Undergraduate Institution

Professional education programs are relatively homogeneous and single-goal oriented. Yet variability in the effectiveness of the socialization process leading to the development of professional identity occurs. This variability may be caused by individual differences in groups of students or by differences in the characteristics of the institutions. It is likely, however, that individual and institutional characteristics are interactive, i.e. that changes in the characteristics of the students as a group effect changes in the characteristics of the institution and vice versa. Tentative support for the notion that the effectiveness of the socialization process is a function of individual and institutional characteristics and their interaction may be found in the literature on undergraduate general education.

Compared to professional schools, undergraduate institutions, as a group, are more heterogeneous both in clientele and in structure. Students' potential and educational and social backgrounds vary, and their career and personal objectives differ. Institutions vary from two-year community colleges to four-year liberal arts colleges to "multi-universities." Institutions may be public or private, sectarian or non-sectarian, large or small. All of these factors have an effect on the "character" of the educational experience.

Within undergraduate institutions those that produce the greatest change in their students, either in the form of accentuating student entrance characteristics or in the form of value conversion, have a well-articulated purpose, a high degree of goal and value consensus among participants, and a structure congruent with the institution's purpose (Chickering 1969; Clark 1970; Clark et al. 1972; Heath 1968; Jacob 1957; and Newcomb 1943). These "distinctive" colleges are primarily small, private, liberal arts colleges that attract faculty and students familiar with and favorably disposed to the institution's image (Feldman and Newcomb 1969, p. 331). Over time, this image becomes self-perpetuating.

> The real and imagined characteristics of such institutions in past years, including their apparent effects on students, tend to be central to its reputation, which is generally important and often decisive in determining attraction and selection. Attraction and selection produce the continuing student input, and the students themselves become a fundamental

> determinant of the effectiveness of a college. This effectiveness, witnessed in the lives and performances of the graduates, fashions the reputation and attraction in the future (Clark et al. 1972, p. 310).

In other words, the characteristics of the institution and of the students it attracts interact to bring about changes in one another. The combination of student and institutional characteristics sets the parameters for the kind of educational experiences available to the students. The impact on students is not produced by a single dimension of the educational experience, but rather it is produced by "the coherence, the consistency, the 'atmosphere' of one's environment" (Heath 1968). The clarity and consistency of objectives determines

> Whether development will be fostered, or whether in their absence and diffuseness, the conflicting forces that follow will immobilize the student and leave him passive and noncommitted, swinging like a pendulum, permitting little progress from dead center and little gain over the momentum provided by the diverse and general social forces that operate outside the institution (Chickering 1969, p. 184).

Students most often perceive clarity and consistency of objectives by observing the behavior of the agents of the institution, and by then comparing this behavior to what is stated. The agents whose behavior is most readily observed by students are the faculty members. Thus, the relationship between students and faculty is important to the development of consistency between goals and structure. In high impact institutions faculty are accessible to students.

> Accessibility means more than simply saying to students, "Feel free to come and see me." It requires an institutional climate where talking with faculty members is legitimized, where students feel free to "take up the professors' valuable time," where such contacts are viewed as an important and necessary part of teaching and learning (Chickering 1969, p. 244).

While the majority of undergraduates do not plan to become college professors and hence do not identify professors as role models of successful practitioners of their chosen careers, nevertheless the faculty are a potent influence on students' career decisions.

> In over a dozen studies in which students were asked to name the important source of influence on their vocational planning and decisions, faculty along with parents ranked as extremely important. In fact, with only two or three exceptions, students perceived faculty to be either as influential as their parents or more so (Feldman and Newcomb 1969, p. 253).

The faculty member can be a role model of successful adult behavior. He can be a source of motivation, a critic or judge, or a "catalyst" in

the student's reorientation of his value system (Feldman and Newcomb 1969, p. 251). The feedbock he gives influences the student's self-image as a learner and as a human being.

Finally, the high impact colleges are primarily residential rather than commuter institutions. It is in the college residence that student subcultures begin to take form. Since an individual learns most from people he knows well, the roommate becomes the most important influence on the student's college life.

> The concept of roommate is so basically related to Vassar life that students who prefer singles but have chosen to room near each other will refer to a next-door friend as "my roommate" (Bushnell 1962, p. 504).

Students form friendships with those nearby who share their interests and attitudes. In turn, the common attitudes and values of the group, providing the group is relatively homogeneous and the dominant group values are important to the individual, then mediate for the individual the attitudes and values of the larger institution and of society (Newcomb 1961, 1966).

> Once a person identifies himself with a group that group becomes an anchor and a reference point. The values and behaviors approved by the group provide a background for developing individual attitudes and behaviors (Chickering 1974, p. 88).

The force of the peer group's impact depends on "how much the ties to other social structures have been disrupted" and on "how much the new group helps the individual fulfill his . . . needs (and) . . . purposes" (Chickering 1974, p. 88). The greater a student's involvement in the residence, the greater the effect of the residence on his values and attitudes (Vreeland and Bidwell 1965, p. 247).

Commuting students do not have this same opportunity for interaction with their peers. The commuter has no break from his past associations—parents, high school friends, perhaps work acquaintances —all still remain important to him. The commuter does not have the same access as do resident students to the "rap session" or to the "grapevine," important elements of the socialization process, with the result that

> Students who live at home with their parents fall short of the kinds of learning and personal development typically desired by the institutions they attend (Chickering 1974, p. 84).

Thus, when undergraduate institutions are observed, only a subset may be seen as having an impact on students. This subset is

characteristically composed of small, private, liberal arts colleges that attract faculty and students familiar with and favorably disposed to the individual institution's image. The structural features and the individual characteristics of the students then interact to form a distinctive environment. The environment is particularly conducive to the effective operation of the socialization process.

In the research on professional education, four key elements of the socialization process were identified. First, professional education programs are highly goal-oriented with a concomitantly high level of value consensus among the faculty. Second, professional education programs develop structures and climates consistent with the program's goals. Third, professional education programs provide easily identifiable and accessible role models who give feedback to students both formally and informally. Fourth, professional education programs foster the development of student subcultures to provide additional support for the development of professional autonomy. Not surprisingly, these key elements are also those that set apart the distinctive undergraduate institution. The distinctive college, by a combination of clear and consistent objectives, interaction between faculty and students, and the fostering of student subcultures primarily in college residences, produces the greatest attitude and value change within its students—a change toward greater openmindedness or tolerance, toward greater intellectual curiosity, and toward greater autonomy.

In conclusion, therefore, the manner in which the neophyte acquires his professional identity and the manner in which the undergraduate acquires his personal identity may be understood by utilizing the concept defined as the socialization process. To be sure, the professional identity fostered in students by the socialization process in professional education differs from the identity fostered in students by the distinctive college. Professional identity is the internalization of the values, attitudes, and skills of the single, chosen profession, while the identity attained by the graduate of a distinctive college is not primarily occupation-oriented. Instead, the identity the undergraduate achieves in a liberal education program is an integrated sense of autonomy and competence based on mastery of critical thinking and decision-making skills, and a commitment to the values of scholarship and tolerance of the diversity of others. However, by employing the concept of the socialization process, the diverse variables that have been studied and associated with effective education may be brought together in a logical unit that, in turn, suggests new questions for research and strategies for reform.

## Implications for Reform and Further Research

If the attainment of an identity composed of autonomy, competence, intellectual curiosity, openness, and tolerance of ambiguity is the goal of undergraduate education, then the most effective means of achieving this goal seems to be a more complete understanding of the socialization process at work and the concomitant restructuring of the two- and four-year educational experience to facilitate its occurrence. This is not to suggest that all undergraduate education must take place in small, private, liberal arts colleges. On the contrary, just as people have differing goals, needs, and learning styles, so too institutions must be different to in some way meet the needs of all who seek a higher education. Nevertheless, a number of reforms that facilitate the socialization process are pointed to by these findings:

- the creation in large institutions of smaller, more autonomous units that can more easily develop the clear and consistent objectives that lead to a salient image.

- the need for self-study to capitalize on what is unique and to plan change that is consistent with the objectives desired.

- the establishment of opportunities for increased faculty-student interaction through small classes or discussion groups, through supervised independent study, and/or through "living-learning" units to provide greater feedback to students. (This is not to say that all classes must be small; only that all cannot be large.)

- the provision of opportunities for students to get to know one another through study groups or group projects within a course, through departmental associations, through informal class "'outings" or the like to maximize the positive potential for peer group influence.

- the establishment of supervised peer-counseling programs such as a corps of academic advisers, tutoring programs, and housing assistance organizations to utilize the influence of the peer group for the benefit of the institution.

These and other reforms have been suggested, but the emphasis here is on the positive effect these reforms would have on the socialization process.

Residential or campus-based institutions have an advantage in

establishing these interactive reforms, but commuter institutions and external degree programs could provide some of these benefits by:

- providing opportunities for "residence" on a limited scale, such as low-cost weekend "retreats" or one-week, intensive, campus-based seminars, to provide some student-student and student-faculty interaction of both an informal and formal nature.
- publishing "interest" directories or other guides so that students with similar educational goals and academic interests can "find" each other.
- providing orientation programs and other information to students' families to help them understand the goals of education and to enlist their aid in meeting them.
- providing detailed written feedback to students on their progress where, as in the case of external degree programs, similar oral feedback is unfeasible.

Reforms such as these—and these are simply illustrations of the possibilities—would facilitate the consistency and interaction necessary in the socialization process if undergraduate education is to achieve its goals. In professional education, on the other hand, where many of these opportunities already exist, a simple awareness of the impact of the socialization process and a striving for greater consistency in the signals transmitted to students may be enough to assure the success of the process.

Throughout this paper a number of issues have been raised that require further study. First, the concept of "identity" or "self-concept" needs further explication. Can "identity" be assessed? How can an educational program determine when and if it has achieved its goal? Second, the processes involved in choosing a role model and in "trying on" the behaviors and values of the role model need further clarification. Third, the development of a "value climate" in an institution has been suggested, but is there a "critical mass" of consensus needed to establish a dominant value? Finally, additional case studies are needed to clarify the way in which institutional characteristics and student characteristics interact to produce distinctive learning environments. It is hoped that the synthesis suggested in this paper may prompt further investigation.

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